1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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Chapter Four

Religious Practices of the Family and the Individual

The studies in this book[1] give an impression of Balinese religion as expressed in the temple system and the religious activities of the village community, the region, and the realm. Hence we shall not devote special attention to such aspects in this introduction: a reference to those studies may suffice. Religious beliefs, however, also find expression on Bali in smaller social groups such as the family, the extended family, and the clan, and in observances of an individual character. A few notes on these aspects of religion follow.

1

The Household Temple

The *kaja*-eastern corner of a Balinese compound is the place for the household temple (*sanggah, pĕmĕrajan*). The household temple is to the family what the navel temple is to the *desa*. In the navel temple the village community worships the purified, and thus deified, souls of the first settlers and founders of the *desa;* in the same way the family worships the purified and deified souls of its own ancestors in the household temple. Inside the group there can be a difference according to seniority (a distinction between ancestors from a distant past and those from the directly preceding generations), or else according to the degree of purification (a distinction between souls who have been purified only once and those who as a result of more than one purification have become worthy of a greater degree of celestial bliss).[2]

One of the most important elements of the household temple is the *sanggah kĕmulan*, the 'shrine of origin'.[3] This shrine is divided

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into three sections side by side. Two of the three can be explained by the fact that the ancestors worshipped consist of a male and a female group. The sun, or the sun god, sometimes appears as the third element. Batara Guru is also sometimes mentioned in this connection. Now Batara Guru – which, translated literally, means Lord Teacher – is a name used to indicate the highest celestial divinity, Siwa, but in both Sanskrit and Balinese *guru* can also mean parent or progenitor as well as teacher. Hence the third element denotes the common progenitor.[4] This is in keeping with the thought of the tripartite system:[5] the third element as a higher unity.

The 'shrine of origin' is closely linked with the life of the family. When a young couple marries, in other words when a new family is to be founded, a new shrine is erected in the form of a *turus lumbung*, a platform of thatched bamboo resting on four live *dadap* trunks. After some time has elapsed and the marriage has proved to be durable, this temporary shrine is replaced by one of wood – that is to say of a more durable material.[6]

Among the other standard requisites of the household temple are an offering column for the *ngurah* or *ngĕrurah*, the protector of the ground, and one for the *taksu*, the intercessor between gods and men.

2

Family Gods and the General Balinese Pantheon

These elements of the household temple are closely linked with a specific family and the ground it lives on. They represent primarily the private aspect of the household temple and the worship taking place in it. The household temples also display characteristics of a more general nature, however, and one usually finds in them deities who also play a rôle in the religious activities of the larger social groups.

In the first place there would seem to be a close tie with the religious activities of the village community. One can invoke the gods of the three village temples at the shrine of origin. The navel

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571 778 temple in Sukawana is called the *dulu*, the 'head' of all the shrines of origin in the village; elsewhere there seems to be an analogy between the shrines of origin and the two offering columns, *kĕmulan desa*, in the *desa* temple. Of a like sort is the link which can exist between a *desa* and a clan temple (*pura dadia*, a temple erected by a number of families for their common ancestors), for in new settlements the clan temple founded by related pioneers can sometimes develop into the navel temple of the new *desa*.[7]

778 776 There are also points of contact between the gods of the general Hindu-Balinese pantheon and the household temple. The shrine of origin itself is associated with the gods of the Hindu trinity,[8] and likewise with Siwa, Sadasiwa, and Paramasiwa.[9] In the household temples of members of the noble castes there is a lotus-seat (*padmasana*) in the *kaja*-eastern corner dedicated to Siwa as the sun god. In the same corner there is often also a small temple with an elongated roof point consecrated to the deity of Gunung Agung.

592 778 829 The household temple, then, is not only the place where one worships one's family gods; moreover it provides the family with the opportunity to maintain contact with and worship the gods of a general character. It is in keeping with this fact that the household temple plays an important rôle in a number of ceremonies in the general Balinese calendar of holidays.[10]

This interplay between the religious rites of the family and those of larger groups on Bali is understandable. We have already seen[11] that elements classified in the same cosmic category are considered equivalent and hence interchangeable. Consequently the step from a purified grandfather to a celestial deity is not so large for Balinese thought as for Western. Both belong to the *kaja* group, to the upper world, thus both have a right to be worshipped and can bring beneficence to the persons worshipping them. The former ruler of Karangasĕm once demonstrated to how great an extent these two conceptions were united in his thinking when he described *adat* violations as "sins against God [*Tuhan*], especially against the spirits [*roh*] of the ancestors ..."[12]

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3

Rites de Passage[13]

The *rites de passage*, too, take place within the sphere of the family. 592
Most of these rites are celebrated with offerings and ceremonies in or near the household temple. Of course this is not always done in exactly the same way: there are local differences, and the caste or class to which one belongs also plays a part. One series of such rites is performed during a person's youth, finding its conclusion in the marriage ceremony; a second series is connected with death.

The rites of the first series which are rather generally observed by Balinese families are:

(*a*) A ceremony with offerings and holy water in the third or 843
fourth month of the first pregnancy.

(*b*) A ceremony on the forty-second day after the birth of each 844
child to remove impurities, especially those of the mother.

(*c*) The 'festival of the third month', on the one hundred fifth 852
day after a child's birth, thus after three of the six thirty-five day periods of the Javanese-Balinese calendar[14] which are sometimes rather erroneously called months. Usually the child is given a name on this occasion, though that can also happen as early as the twelfth day after its birth. This third-month festival is quite generally celebrated; Hindu Balinese who have become Christians often continue to observe it, albeit with ceremonies of a different sort. During the celebration a doll made of coconut-leaf stems may be thrown away along the road or near the bathing place to ward off the dangers threatening the child.[15] Sometimes, in order to increase the child's strength and vitality, an egg is tapped on a rice-block while these words are pronounced: "... [name of the child] has a stone body, the baby has a body like an egg ..."

(*d*) The first 'birthday', on the two hundred tenth day, thus on the [305]
completion of the first 'year' according to the Javanese-Balinese chronology. On this occasion the child's hair is cut for the first time. It is also usually then that the baby is allowed to touch the

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final limit of this period seems to be marked by the loss of the baby teeth. It is no doubt related to this that there is often a separate burial ground, the *pĕbajangan*, for children who die before they have lost their baby teeth, and that prohibitions applying to burial do not have to be taken into consideration, or less strictly so, for them; perhaps also related is the fact that in Tĕnganan such children may be buried in the morning, while older persons may be buried only in the late afternoon or at night (which might indicate that an association is made between the first period in the life of man and that in the daily course of the sun). In their later youth young people are no longer considered as gods, though in traditionalistic *desas* they are viewed as being especially marked for the service of the gods.[18] The other aspect of the process is that by means of the *rites de passage* one is made ready for the privileges and duties which a complete person may and must exercise. Thus the wife of a novice apparently may only follow her husband into the priestly class if her teeth have been filed.[19] And one of the important temples in Tabanan, Pura Luhur on the southeast slope of the Batu Kau, was closed even to the reigning prince as long as his teeth had not been filed.

From these two cases it is clear that the significance of the *rites de passage* is not limited to the sphere of the individual or the family, but also extends to the larger group. To mention one more example, a mother may only enter the temples after her purification on the forty-second day following her child's birth.

The ceremonies of marriage form a definite conclusion to youth – the persons marrying have to be ransomed from the service of the gods.[20] It is only after marriage that one becomes a full member of the village community. (In Tĕnganan the newly married take the place of their parents, who have to retire as 'active members'.)

There are no fixed, general *rites de passage* for married people, though it is of course their responsibility to see that the rites are performed for their children. There are, however, sometimes special consecrations to a higher spiritual state. The clearest example of such rites is the consecration as *pĕdanda*, priest of the

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592 78 Brahman caste, which is considered in one of the studies below.[21] But also persons who do not belong to the Brahman caste can attain a comparable consecration, *mĕwintĕn*, which is (or at any rate was) compulsory for persons wanting to read the holy writings. The dead bodies of persons who have received such a consecration do not need to be removed from the house during Nyĕpi.[22] (In Tĕnganan the term *mĕwintĕn* is used for the ceremony concluding the period of apprenticeship or initiation in the young people's associations.)

761 764 The ceremonies of the second series consist of those for the dead. These are numerous, comprehensive, and very detailed on Bali. One should either write a book about that vast complex of offerings, purifications, and actions[23] or else write as little as possible. Unable to do the former, I shall restrict myself to a few general remarks.

As a result of death one falls in the power of the nether world: one becomes a 'servant of the deity of the temple of the dead'.[24] Hence the body of a dead person must be removed from the house and buried as quickly as possible. The ceremonies immediately after death may not be performed in the household temple. They have an exorcizing, deterrent function; contact with the dead is shunned, and an effort is made to terminate it, as is clear from the very name of one of the ceremonies, the *mĕpĕgat*, the breach.

Such a situation may not be allowed to last, however. The relatives have the duty to purify the souls of a dead person by means of the prescribed rites, so that it may take its place among the deified ancestors worshipped in the household temple – and the earlier that is done the better. In principle the property of a dead person must serve first of all to finance the purification ceremony, and his estate may not be divided before it has been performed; only persons willing to take on the duty of having the rites performed are allowed to be his heirs. In parts of Bali where there is a strong Hindu or Hindu-Javanese influence such purification takes place in the form of cremation. (As has already been pointed out,[25] a great deal that is of various origins can be

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121 expression in *desa* life: the village temples, the village administration and its meetings, and the village ceremonies.

I

The Temples

778 The various temples intended particularly for religious purposes on the village level demonstrate clearly to what extent religion is a fundamental factor in *desa* society. On Bali there are, of course, various categories of temples, each associated with a certain group of people.

575 592 243 312 Besides the village temples to be discussed below, there are sanctuaries venerated by the irrigation association, the family, the realm. Moreover there are special temples for sacred places such as mountain peaks, lakes, and forests, and for special voluntary associations (*puras pĕmaksan, puras panti*) such as *barong* groups and the like. The irrigation-association sanctuaries may be subdivided into *subak* temples, weir temples, and other sanctuaries. Among the state temples a distinction must be made between the *puras pĕnataran* of the various principalities and Pura Bĕsakih, the sanctuary for the whole of Bali. An intermediate stage between the state temples and temples at holy places is formed by the temples of origin and the *sadkayangans*. The temples of origin referred to here are neither the family *puras kawitan* or *kĕmimitan* nor the village *puras pusĕh* or navel temples, but the sanctuaries of the origin of the world which bear such various names as *pura pusĕr ing jagat* (world-navel temple), *pura pusĕr ing tasik* (sea-navel temple), *pura kĕntĕl gumi* ('temple where the whirling earth has congealed'), and the like. The *sadkayangan* temples are a group of sanctuaries of general (that is to say not local) significance, of which there are differing listings. Four or five temples recur in all these lists, but each separate list also has a few varying names. Pura Pĕnataran Sasih, Pura Batu Kau, Pura Yeh Jĕruk, and Pura Goa Lĕlawah are among the names recurring in all lists. Among the family temples are the household temples (*sanggahs*, or, for the nobility, *pĕmĕrajans*), the family origin temples (*puras kawitan* or

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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behind the walls come occasional tinkling sounds of practising on a *gamelan*.

As we became more and more familiar with our new life, and our ears grew accustomed to Malay, we made friends among the Balinese. We were already weary of the stolid prudishness of Dutch hotel life, and since we could not afford the high rates much longer, we looked for another place to live. Houses for rent that were not in the Arab, Chinese, or European quarter were non-existent in those days, but somehow we became attached to the household of our first Balinese friend — Gusti Alit Oka, an intelligent and dapper young man, prince by birth, carpenter by profession, and musician by choice. He agreed to rent us one of the pavilions of his house and undertook to improve our Malay. Our household consisted of the young prince's wife and child, two widowed aunts, and an old servant, a retainer of his father, the great warrior who was killed with his brother the Radja of Badung in their last desperate stand against the invading Dutch army twenty-nine years ago, when our host was a baby. Like a true Balinese prince, Gusti had his "man," an amiable but exceedingly ugly retainer, by name Katel, who followed his master admiringly wherever he went. We settled in Gusti's house, bought a few chairs and tables, had beds made, and hired a few nonchalant servants: a *djongos* who insisted his name was "Dog," a cook, and a chauffeur. We bought a decrepit Chevrolet and gave ourselves up to the full enjoyment of the island, going from feast to feast, dances, and cremations.

It was my good fortune to have made friends in those days with Walter Spies, Bali's most famous resident. The son of a German diplomat in Moscow at the outbreak of the World War, Spies was already well known in Europe as a painter in 1923, when I had admired and cut out reproductions of his paintings of Russia from the *Kunstblatt*, never thinking he was to become one of my closest friends. As fine a musician as he is a painter, Spies studied the music of the Tatars while interned in the Urals

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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A Balinese home (*kuren*) consists of a family or a number of related families living within one enclosure, praying at a common family temple, with one gate and one kitchen. The square plot of land (*pekarangan*) in which the various units of the house stand is entirely surrounded by a wall of whitewashed mud, protected from rain erosion by a crude roofing of thatch. The Balinese feel uneasy when they sleep without a wall, as, for instance, the servants must in the unwalled Western-style houses. The gate of a well-to-do family can be an imposing affair of brick and carved stone, but more often it consists of two simple pillars of mud supporting a thick roof of thatch. In front of the gate on either side are two small shrines (*apit lawang*) for offerings, of brick and stone, or merely two little niches excavated in the mud of the gate, while the simplest are made of split bamboo. Directly behind the doorway is a small wall (*aling aling*) that screens off the interior and stops evil spirits. In China I had seen similar screens erected for the same purpose and once I asked a Balinese friend how the *aling aling* kept the devils from entering; he replied, with tongue in his cheek, that, unlike humans, they turned corners with difficulty.

The pavilions of the house are distributed around a well-kept yard of hardened earth free of vegetation except for some flowers and a decorative frangipani or hibiscus tree. But the land between the houses and the wall is planted with coconut trees, breadfruit, bananas, papayas, and so forth, with a corner reserved as a pigsty. This is the garden, the orchard, and the corral of the house and is often so exuberant that the old platitude that in the tropics one has only to reach up to pluck food from the trees almost comes true in Bali.

Curiously, bamboo is not grown within the house. If it sprouts by itself it is allowed to remain, but its growth is discouraged by indirect means. Such is the magic of bamboo that only old people may tackle the dangerous job of planting it or digging it out, and the first lump of earth dug must be thrown as far away as possible. It is said that if this earth touches someone, he will

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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593 562 manages the house and the finances of the family, and at times she even keeps her husband. We have seen that the majority of the women of average class work and have their own incomes. [422] [428] They own their clothes, their jewellery, and the household utensils, as well as the pigs and chickens of the house. The man, of course, owns the house itself, the ricefields, the cattle, and his implements, and inheritance is invariably along the male line. The woman has absolute rights over her income and owns her share of the money earned by their combined efforts, although the husband is the administrator of this money. In general the [592] man is the acknowledged master of the household and represents the family before the law and before the gods, who are his own ancestors.

841 But once a month, during menstrual time, a wife's life is not a happy one; to her physical handicap is added the powerful taboo of pollution (*sebel*) which then falls upon her: she is forbidden to go into the temple, into the kitchen or the granary, or to the well. She may not prepare food nor, of course, make offerings or participate at feasts, and the wife of a high priest may not even speak to her exalted husband. No man would dream of sleeping in the same room with a woman in this condition; the average man moves into the house of a friend, but the wife of a nobleman has to look for a place to sleep, far from her husband. In the palace of a prince there is often a secluded compartment where his wives retire while menstruating. When the period is over, a woman has to be purified again with sprinkling of holy water before she can resume normal life. Perhaps because the Balinese [754] believe that a man can be bewitched, losing all his will to the woman who can anoint his head with menstrual blood, they have such mortal horror of being near a woman during the time of menstruation.

595 162 The Balinese are reputedly polygamous, but the great majority — about ninety-five per cent — have only one wife. It was generally believed that there are considerably more women than men in Bali, but the last census (1930) gives the figures as 561,874

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

585 great extent, been forgotten. Only on the symbolic level do they remain
583 true and valid for the culture which practices them; they are the ways through which the underlying ethos of the culture is expressed, through which it lives and continues to perpetuate itself.

592 Every married pair may constitute a household, a ***koeren***, the unit of the village or ward (***bandjar***). Usually, in a household of a number of children, [591] one of the sons remains in the paternal house while the others move out and set up establishments of their own as they come to maturity and marry. The paternal house passes to the son who remains at home; as the old man [593] reaches the age of superannuation it is this son who represents the house- [428] hold at the village meetings and who does the work apportioned by the village, the temple, the irrigation unit (*soebak*), or the higher authority of [653] the district official government. It is characteristic of the Balinese system that it is the youngest son, not the eldest, who remains at home and inherits the father's house.

562 *Age and Sex Typing*. The Balinese have their own special view of the distinction between the sexes and of the differences or lack of differences between them at different times in the cycle of life. The most important point is the complementariness of the sexes, male and female together making up an entity, completing each other. Like the Chinese *yin* and *yang*, the theme male and female (*loeh mocwani*) is endlessly repeated and recurrent in every context from the description of the gods to the terms for a carpenter's joining. But, beside this complementariness, there are areas where the distinction between the sexes seems quite irrelevant, the two sexes are inter- [611] changeable. Thus, though it is a patrilineal society, and a man must have [428] a son to carry on his ancestral line, if he has no son, a daughter will do. The daughter then substitutes for the son. Various sorts of priestly functions may be carried out by women as well as by men; diviners, healers of one sort or
562 another, godly spokesmen, all these are as likely to be male as female—the
462 women have no monopoly here over hysterical manifestations. Little child dancers may be boys, or girls, or boys dressed as girls, or girls dressed as boys. There is a happy indeterminacy in all of these roles. In the very young, and in the very old, the difference in sex is of no consequence.

562 Only for purposes of mating is it felt necessary to keep the two sexes [831] distinct. During the years of young courtship there is rather more emphasis on the difference between male and female. There are divisions of labor, [462] between men's work and women's work, which serve to emphasize the difference as the skills are being acquired, but, once a young man and a young [592] girl are married, they form a unit, a "household" (***koeren***) in which either one may act for the pair. They are like partners, of whom either one can

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Ball OF7

represent the firm. For the temple, certain offerings are customarily prepared by men, others by women. But the work is shared out according to households; and if during the preparatory days the man is busy working in the rice fields, his wife may represent his household at the temple, or if she is busy at home, he may go in her stead. All the working of the village life is built up out of these household units, and it is for this reason almost unthinkable to remain unmarried. Bachelors and old maids are practically unknown.

When a child is born no special point is made as to whether it is a male or a female. It is like a little god, newly come from the heaven of the gods, perhaps an ancestor returned to earth. At three months it is taken for the first time to the temple to make its obeisance at the shrine of the Recorder of Births. From this time until the time of its losing its first teeth (*meketoes*), the child has a status of maximum innocence and purity; it is the nearest thing to a god which man may know. It is made much of and adored by both parents, whether it be male or female. After the age of six, the difference in occupation begins to effect a certain typing according to sex which was not evident up to that time. Little boys do herding of ducks and cattle in the fields, while little girls carry water and help their mothers in the household tasks.

When they begin to wear clothes, the *kamben* worn by boys and girls is almost identical, and, even among adult men and women, the difference between men's dress and women's dress is only a slight difference in the tying of the cloth or in the length to which it falls below the knee. Up until the last generation both men and women had long hair, and even today most priests still wear their hair long. In physical type, too, there is little difference between males and females. Both are slender and have relatively wide shoulders and narrow hips, a strong straight back, erect carriage, smooth muscles, and a smooth skin practically without body hair. The men have no beard, and their features do not differ markedly from the women's. It is not at all unusual to mistake a man for a woman, or a woman for a man, even at a few paces' distance.

This merging and indeterminacy of the sexes is to some extent offset by certain rules of behavior. For example, a man sits crosslegged, while a woman sits with both legs to one side. Or a man climbs coconut trees, a woman weaves. Thus, if it is impossible to tell whether a figure is male or female by looking at it, one may be able to tell by the way it is sitting or by what it is doing. And when we find, as we occasionally do, individuals who wish to be of the opposite sex, it is precisely by doing such things as climbing coconut trees or weaving that they express this wish.

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

at the crossroads, the graveyard; and only occasionally a pilgrimage to one of the temples of mountain-gods, sea-, lake-, and sacred spring-gods; proper and suitable celebration, with offerings and performances according to his means, of births, birthdays, tooth-filings, weddings, deaths, cremations, etc., in the family. As a rule it is only when some difficulty arises in the carrying out of the ordinary prescribed rites that the djabā turns to the Hindu high-priest, the Pedanda, for advice, and still more rarely, for his offices.

It has occurred to me that a study of one such ordinary Balinese—one of the 900,000 djabā—in his family relations, might be of value, not to lay down any rules, but simply as an illustration of certain common phenomena in the mores.

I have chosen, therefore, an ordinary family, in an ordinary village, lying halfway between the modern town, where the old customs are perforce breaking down, and the region of the old-style Bali-Agā villages, which in their isolation have preserved an order which is today more of a curiosity in Bali, not characteristic of the country as a whole. And so, although it must not be concluded that what has happened in this family is what necessarily would happen in any Balinese family, still the procedures may be taken as fairly typical—if one remembers that variations are great from village to village, and that the customs of the high-caste Balinese, as well as those of the Bali-Agā villages are not represented in the general picture.

A BALINESE FAMILY

Rendah is the head of his household, and therefore a pengajā, member of the village council. He owns his own pekarangan, a walled courtyard within the village limits, enclosing the shrines of his household gods, the living quarters of his immediate family, and the place of the pigs and fowls. He owns also a sufficient portion of the irrigated rice-fields surrounding the village for the maintenance of his family. The fields are tilled by himself, his brothers, and their sons when they are old enough. All the old people and the dependent women and children get enough to eat. If the crop is good, and there is rice left over, it may be sold in the market. The women cook and weave cloth (kamben) for the family, and carry up fresh water from the spring, night and morning. The small girls of five or six begin to help their mothers and aunts at this task, balancing a coconut-shell full of water on their erect heads. The little boys of the same age take charge of the ducks and the water-buffalo, driving them out into the inundated rice-fields at sunrise, driving them back to their shelters near the house-court, at dusk.

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Rendah has one wife, Rieh, who has borne him nine children. Three of these died in infancy. His eldest, a girl, he has just given in marriage to her paternal parallel second cousin, the eldest son of Gari, Rendah's own paternal parallel cousin (fig. 1, I). This girl, Tingglih, has "followed her husband," and now lives across the street in the house of her father-in-law Gari. Only five children remain in Rendah's house.

Rendah himself was one of eight children, also borne to his father by one wife (fig. 2, II). The children, in the order of their birth, receive title-names, as follows:

Wajan—First-born
Madé—Second-born
Njoman—Third-born
Ketoet—Fourth-born.

If there are more than four children the series begins over again, and the fifth child is Wajan, the sixth Madé, etc. Every djabă must have one of these title-names, which precedes his given name. The given name is chosen by a system of divination through fire, from a group of names suitable to a child born on a certain day of the astrological calendar. It is rarely used, except to children and to inferiors in age and in social status. To use the title-name is always more polite, and compulsory for inferiors in age and in social status. Thus Rendah, although he is the eldest son, was the fourth-born of his family. He is called Ketoet by his equals, or I Ketoet Rendah when they are speaking about him, to distinguish him from other Ketoets. After the birth of his first child he is called 'Pan Tingglih,[1] father of Ting-

[1] 'Pan is the abbreviation of bapan, from bapă, father, with the possessive -n. In certain mountain districts the old word 'nang, shortened from nanang, father, is used. Similarly bibi for mother or aunt, is sometimes found instead of the usual mémé. On the island of Noesă Penidă, belonging to Bali but with a distinctive dialect, bibi and bébé are in use for mother and aunt as well as mémé, and maman for paternal or maternal uncle, reserving nanang for the biological father. In Balinese classical literature paman is used for uncle and as a familiar form of address to older men (as a young prince speaking to his father's minister). In Malay paman may be used in the latter way, though its original meaning is maternal uncle. Iboe, mother, and jajah or adji, father, occur also in the literature. Iboe and adji are current high Balinese, and biang, mother, is found among high-caste people used as a title-name. Keramă is another old form for mother, found in the texts. Kaki, grandfather, appears in the literature more often than the current pekak. Nini and néné, old forms for grandmother, are rarely found outside the texts. Nini is still in use as the name for the rice-goddess of the harvest ritual, although apparently not universally known.

Koeranan is used for both husband and wife. The words moewani, male, and loeh, female, are commonly substituted in low Balinese for husband and wife. In high Balinese they are lanang, male, and istri, female; istri has come to have a more definite meaning of wife, although high-caste Balinese have many different words, as rabi, wife, prami swari, consort (of

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

glih, and this appellation is still more polite and proper to be used by strangers, equals, and inferiors. All his younger brothers and cousins call him bli, elder brother. His own children, his nephews, and the children of his first and second cousins on both the male and the female sides call him bapă, father. In speaking of him, the children of his younger brothers and cousins may call him oeă, elder uncle (or aunt). His wife generally calls him bli, elder brother, or Ketoet, his title-name, and sometimes even bapă, as the father of her children. She, as his inferior, may not call him by his given name, Rendah. But he may call her by her given name, although he is more likely to use her title name, or to call her mémé, mother. When Tingglih's first child is born, Rendah and Rieh will be known as Pekak —— and Dadong ——, Grandfather of —— and Grandmother of —— followed by the given name of the child. Thus a man's own name tends to die out even during his own lifetime, as he grows older, and there is no one left to "speak down" to him. During this investigation I asked Rendah for the name of his own mother, who lives in the house with him. He could not remember, and was forced to inquire of the old lady herself. Her husband, Rendah's father, had been dead only six months. He alone of the household had the right to call her by her given name, and if Rendah could not remember it, the old man must not have availed himself of the right for many years.

Rendah's eldest sister, Wajan Koti, was married, and later "thrown away." She returned to her father's house. As Rendah has inherited house and household, she now lives within his courts, sharing in the work of the women.

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prince), penawing, wife from lower caste, and sang keringan, concubine ("married to the kris" when already pregnant). (Princes may take concubines without marriage ceremonies, but if a concubine is going to bear the prince a child, the ceremonies are carried out with the substitution of the prince's kris, borne by his high priest, in place of the bridegroom—so that the child may be made legitimate, although the mother is of lower caste.)

Brothers, sisters, and all relatives are called njamă (low) or semotonan (high). Elder brothers and sisters are called kakă. To address an older sister, or in polite usage any female older than one's self, mbok is used; to address younger brothers, sisters, or relatives, or in speaking of them, adi is used.

Child in the sense of "the child of ——" is pianak. For "a child" or "children," there is no word. Anak tjenik (polite) or anak tjerik (familiar) are substituted, which mean simply "small man." Anak in Malay means child in either of the above senses, but in Balinese it means man or person, as anak Bali, a Balinese, anak loeh, a woman.

Grandchildren are called tjoetjoe, great-grandchildren kelab or boejoet. Male and female great-grandparents are called koempi or koempiang.

Finally there are the terms matoeă, father-in-law, mantoe, son-in-law, and ipah, used for either brother- or sister-in-law.

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the eldest son, at the paternal house with his wife and children, to succeed the old man at his death. But this does not always happen, and as we shall see in other cases, it is more usually the older brothers who move out one by one and set up new households, leaving the youngest boy to succeed and take over the paternal house. (Daughters do not inherit property.) It may be that the desire for independence, when newly married, prompts the elder brother to depart, leaving his right of succession to the youngest.

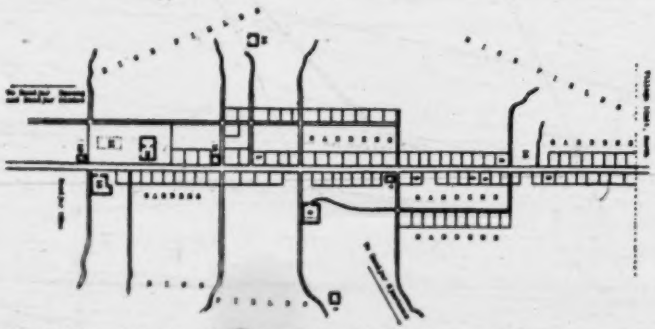

FIG. 3. Map of Bandjar Koetoeh, Village of Sajan. 1, House of the great-grandfather, Gentoeh-Njadet-Keroenä; 2, House of Géwar-Klepoeg-Gari; 3, House of Bedil-Dariä; 4, House of Boedal-Rendah; 5, House of Mertä; 6, House of Soewakä; 7, Balé Bandjar of Koetoeh, meeting house of the men; 8, Poerä Dalem, temple of the dead; 9, Poerä Panataran, temple; 10, Poerä Désä and Poerä Poeseh, village temple and temple of origin (common to the five bandjars); 11, Peken, village market place; 12, Poeri, "palace" of the Tjokordä; 13, Balé Bandjar of Bandjar Mas; 14, Poerä Nagasari, temple; 15, Poerä Panti, temple; 16, Semä, village graveyard and cremation place.

They say also that the youngest son has had, at the time of his father's death, less time to set himself up, and is therefore less able to fend for himself, than the others who have been married several years. Whatever the reasons, the rule is that the eldest or the youngest, not the intermediate son, inherits the paternal house. (See exception, pp. 23–24.)

The sixth child was another boy, who died in childhood. The seventh, Njoman Dog, another boy, who, although married for several years, has remained in the paternal house. He and his wife Rawi are now a part of Rendah's household. In Balinese this is called ngerob, "to share a kitchen." They say it is because Rendah is not strong, and Dog helps with the cultivation of Rendah's ricefields in return for sharing in the house. Rendah seems to have complete authority over Dog, and orders him about as his

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younger brother, putting most of the heavy work upon him. But it is true that Rendah is not strong and that Dog is not very bright.

Dog and his wife Rawi have no children. This is a tragedy to the Balinese. Rendah has recently allowed them to "adopt"[3] one of his little girls, Dajoeh. It would not seem to be a very serious change for the child, as they all live together in the same court, and she, with her brothers and sisters, has always called their aunt and uncle by the same names as their mother and father, mémé and bapă. However, Dajoeh senses a difference, and follows Rawi about, always at her heels like a young colt.

The eighth child of Rendah's father was a girl, Ketoet Djinar, who married and went to live in Njéstanan, a different bandjar of the same village. She is in and out of Rendah's house, helping when there is heavy work with the harvest, rice-pounding, or special preparations for a temple festival. But she neither eats nor sleeps there regularly.

The mother of all these children, whose name, she remembered, was Kintil, is of course also a member of the household. She continues to sleep in the place of honor, the balé săkănem, which in her husband's time she shared with him. Although the old man had been for several years in his dotage, unable to fulfill his functions in the village council (where he was represented by Rendah), and rather pushed aside by his grandchildren, Kintil is still a vigorous old woman in full possession of her faculties, respected and esteemed by all the household.

On the plan of Rendah's house (fig. 4) it will be seen that of the space enclosed by the walls the "highest," that is, the northeast corner, towards the mountains and the abode of the gods, is reserved for the household shrines. The balé săkănem is an elevated open pavilion, on a stone foundation, whose thatch roof is supported by six wooden pillars. There is a brick wall at the back, the other three sides are open. The space between four pillars forms a sleeping-place, a raised platform built between the pillars. Here the grandmother sleeps, sometimes with one or two of the children.

The metèn is a house with mud-walls enclosing two sleeping platforms, and outside, on the porch formed by the overhanging roof, are two more sleeping places, with curtains of red print material. Newly married young people, and young unmarried girls sleep in such inner rooms—they have reasons for privacy, or must be protected. Here the two girls Ngetis and Dajoeh usually sleep. Rendah sleeps on the porch, in the "higher" bed, towards the east, often with one of his little sons. His wife occupies the other outer bed. The baby sleeps with her, or in fact any of the younger

[3] The term is anak ngidih, "asked-for person."

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the girl gives up her own family and her ancestor gods for those of her husband.

Soewakă was the son of a man whose elder brother had no male child, but a daughter. Soewakă married as a sentană this daughter, Metoe, who was his paternal parallel first cousin. Her father was then to him father-in-law, uncle, and adopted father (fig. 1, III).[4] Soewakă lived in the house of his father-in-law and later inherited it. Soewakă had only one child by Metoe, a daughter. He then took a second wife, who was Méweh (eldest daughter of Bedil and paternal parallel cousin of Rendah), and had by her five children, two of whom have married back into the family which concerns us here (fig. 2, IV).

It is customary, and considered more suitable, for a man who takes a second wife to provide her with a house of her own, so that the two wives, at least during the early years, will not have to live in too close proximity.[5] Soewakă built for Méweh what is called a koeboe, an informal sort of house, set out in the ricefields, not within the circumscribed limits of the village. Here Méweh still lives, although her children are grown up and married. With her are her second son, Tèmplok, with his wife and two

[4] A Balinese states the custom for choosing a sentană: "Take the family nearest on the male side, and if there is none [no son], only then can he be taken from the female side" (Ida Bagoes Hadipta, in an article on ancient adat in Bhāwanāgara, Nos. 4–5, 1933, p. 73).

[5] Household and dependents of Soewakă:

"Town house"
- Soewakă
- Metoe — his first wife
- Popol — youngest son of Soewakă by his second wife
- Te'er — wife of Popol
- child of Popol and Te'er
- Sampring — mother of Metoe

Koeboe No. 1
- Méweh — second wife of Soewakă
- Tèmplok — son of Soewakă and Méweh
- Kébek — wife of Tèmplok
- 2 children of Tèmplok and Kébek
- Poepoel — son of Soewakă and Méweh

Koeboe No. 2
- Loe'ed — daughter of Soewakă by Metoe (first wife)
- Gemoeh — husband of Loe'ed
- 6 children of Gemoeh and Loe'ed.

The total is twenty people, eleven adults and nine children, living in the three houses, but receiving their share of the common rice supply, kept in the "town house." Soewakă, and all the young men of the three households, work the ricefields which he inherited from Metoe's father.

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595 591 592 children, and her third son, Poepoel, who is unmarried. Her youngest son, Popol, lives with his wife and child in the "town house" with his father and Metoe. Metoe's daughter Loe'ed lives with her husband and her six children in another koeboe also on her father's land, for the husband is poor and landless, and glad to work his father-in-law's fields in return for his share of the crop. (He is not a sentană, as Méweh has sons enough to carry on the line. Such a working relationship is called silih, which has the meaning of borrowing or repaying a debt, in friendly exchange.) Soewakă says that all these people, that is the two wives with all their children, sons- and daughters-in-law, and grandchildren (with the exception of the daughter Sémbrod and the son Keroenă), and including also the old mother of Metoe, all these people "get rice at his house." But those who live in the koeboes cook it in their own houses. Here the term which was used for the dependence of Dog in Rendah's house, ngerob, does not apply, for although they share the crop, they do not share a kitchen. Nevertheless Metoe's portion, which came to Soewakă as sentană, has sufficed to maintain his entire second family, as well as Metoe's daughter, with her husband and six children.

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591 608 582 Keroenă, the eldest son of Soewakă and Méweh, also became a sentană. He married Saboh, the only daughter of Njadet and Njambléh. Njambléh is his mother's paternal parallel cousin, and Njadet the son of his mother's father's paternal parallel cousin (fig. 1, II). It will be remembered that Njadet and Njambléh were the children of paternal parallel cousins (p. 16).

The youngest son of Méweh, Popol, has married his maternal cross-cousin, Te'er, the daughter of Gari (fig. 1, IV, a). But this description, though biologically true, does not quite fit the case. Gari, born the brother of Méweh, was adopted at the age of three months by a childless uncle, Klepoeg. He became, then, by adoption, Méweh's paternal parallel cousin, instead of her brother. The marriage of Popol and Te'er is to be considered socially as another marriage of the children of paternal parallel cousins (fig. 1, IV, b).

582 611 There is one more child of Méweh who concerns us here, the daughter Sémbrod, who married the son of her father's male paternal cross-cousin (fig. 1, III). Her case differs from that of her brother Popol, in that her relation to her husband sprang from an original cross-cousinship, carried through a parallel phase in the second generation; and Popol's relation to his wife (considered socially) sprang from an original parallel cousinship, carried through a cross phase in the second generation. Note that the description of Sémbrod's case holds true whether she is considered as the

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received swings back and forth through the generations. But all the same, when quarrels arise, the present government has difficulty in settling the ownership of property to which one man may hold the deed,[6] whereas another has been farming it and paying the taxes on it for ten or fifteen years.

In the case of Rendah and his two surviving brothers, the ricefields of their father are supposed to have been divided between them. Rendah, as the eldest, claims to have got a larger share than Mertă and Dog. Now Mertă maintains a separate household, whereas Dog lives in the house of Rendah, and has no child (except the daughter of Rendah whom he has adopted). Rendah says that two-thirds of the land belongs to him, but that as the land is all lumped together, and worked chiefly by Mertă and Dog, they divide the crops between the two households, that of Mertă and that of Rendah, which includes Dog. Rendah's household consists of six adults and five children, Mertă's of two adults and seven children. "If he has not got enough rice, I give it to him, whereas if I am lacking, he gives to me," says Rendah. Hence we assume that the division of the crop is done on a friendly basis according to necessity, and if Rendah's household should diminish through the death of the old mother and sister, or the marriage of his daughters, and Mertă's increase with the birth of more children, the ratio could be proportionately altered. But it is hard to tell, when Rendah says he owns two-thirds of the land, whether this is really all his, or whether he is counting with his own Dog's share, since Dog is in the position of a dependent in his household. In this case it is of no particular importance, as Dog has no son to inherit from him.

It will be noted that of the eleven marriages recorded in Rendah's generation, only two were polygynous. Njadet married Dartă, and having no children by her, took his paternal parallel second cousin Njambléh, who gave him one daughter. When she grew up, a sentană marriage was arranged with her cousin Keroenă, who is related to her both on her mother's and on her father's side (fig. 1, II). In the son of this marriage, Njadet has at last got his heir to carry on the line. The other marriage of two wives was when Soewakă, who, as sentană husband to Metoe, had only a daughter, wedded his second cousin Méweh as a second wife, and by her got four sons.

In the preceding generation Klepoeg and Krèbèk had each two wives.

[6] The deed, called pipil, is in writing, engraved upon a leaf of the tal palm. It is tucked away in a safe place, and forgotten. In the case of land which I rented, the search for the pipil lasted six weeks. It was finally discovered in a roof-bamboo of the house of the paternal second-cousin of the "owner."

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591 in his own patriline, as a woman does at marriage in the normal case, and
611 moves to his wife's home to live. As this almost always occurs in cases where
428 male heirs are lacking, Balinese genealogies show a noticeable ambilineal element, in that a certain percentage of the ties are traced through women rather than men.

● 592 The basic residential unit is the *pekarangan* or walled house compound, which in kinship terms may house groups which range from a simple nuclear family up to a three or more generation extended patri-family. Typically two or three nuclear families, often with various unattached or aged patri-relatives, occupy a single pekarangan, but occasionally compounds with as many as ten or fifteen families, related through a common paternal grandfather may be found, particularly among the upper caste groups. In addition to being a residential unit, the compound is a very important religious unit, for each com-
[346] pound group supports a small temple in the northeast corner of the yard dedi-
[769] cated to its direct ancestors at which twice yearly ceremonials must be given. Finally, the compound is usually divided into kitchens, called *kuren*, typically one nuclear family to a kitchen, but sometimes two or three, and it is this kitchen group which is the basic kin unit from the point of view of all superordinate social institutions: it is the kuren which is taxed for the Kahyangan-Tiga temples, which is allotted a seat in the meeting house, which must send a worker to repair the dam or participate in the harvest, which is the rice-field owning unit, and so on.

614 Above the compound and the kitchen one commonly finds, within any
621 given hamlet, from one to ten or so (largely but not entirely) endogamous corporate kin groups called *dadia*.[3] Such dadia are basically ritual units, but they may also act as collective work-groups for various social and economic tasks, may provide the main framework for informal social intercourse outside the immediate family for its members, may serve as an undivided unit in the local stratification hierarchy, and may form a well-integrated faction within the general hamlet political system. The degree to which it takes on these general social functions differs rather widely from village to village. In some villages dadia organization is the central focus of social life, the axis around which it revolves; in others it is of relatively secondary importance; and in a few villages, especially semi-urbanized ones, dadia may not exist at all.

Rarely is the whole hamlet population organized into dadia, and sometimes only a definite minority will be. This is so because of the manner in which dadia are formed. When a family line begins to grow in size, wealth, and local political power, it begins to feel, as a consequence of what is probably the central
[181] Balinese social value, status pride, a necessity for a more intensified public expression of what it takes to be its increased importance within the hamlet. At this point the various households which compose the line will join together under a chief elected from among them to build themselves a larger ancestral temple. This temple will usually be built on public, hamlet-owned land, rather than within the confines of one of the houseyards, thus symbolizing the fact

[96 cont.]

M 582 583 parental [bilateral] or parentage rights system prevails. Nevertheless, the bridegroom still pays a bride price, which here, of course, has nothing of the character of a purchase price for the girl. It is divided, together with other presents, among the M 586 relatives of the bride, who, for their part, also give presents and return a part of the bride price. Divorce is rife, and divorce can be instituted by both the man and the woman. A peculiar institution is the mapoewé awo, "to divide a bamboo into two equal parts," which refers to the [97] distribution of the children between the parents with the understanding that, in the case of divorce and provided the bride price has been paid, the first child, then the third, and so on, go to the M 562 mother, the others to the father. As is always the case with eleutherogamy, the position of women is not lower than that of the men; rule by women is common in southern Celebes.

B 621 631 d. Bali. Among the Balinese the interests of the individual are primarily concentrated in territorial jurisdictional communities, the Balinese dèsa; in former times they were combined into even larger territorial units, not always to their advantage or satisfaction, for example, the former Balinese principalities which were subdivided into districts.

B 592 594 It is noteworthy that neither the family nor the household [gezin, or nuclear family] is a jurisdictional community, in view of the fact that the Balinese have a strong family sense, B [769 778] which expresses itself, for instance, in a veneration for the place from which the family traces its origin. A special temple is erected and pilgrimages are made there for giving offerings. B 631 Only the dèsa, however, the territorial region, is a jurisdictional community, and, besides that, the soebak, the Balinese polder.

B 621 Although one can thus say that the dèsa communities represent the pivot around which the interests of the individual revolve, this must be qualified to apply to the particular situation on Bali.

B [771 174] The whole life of the Balinese is very strongly influenced by his religion, an animism that has been greatly modified by